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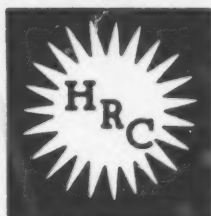
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ABSTRACT

This issue of the Hispanic Research Center's journal contains four articles which focus on various aspects of the Hispanic community in New York City. In the first article, Douglas T. Gurak and Lloyd H. Rogler use data from censuses, ethnographic accounts, and public documents to profile New York City's Hispanic population. They review the socioeconomic status of Hispanics at both the national level and within New York City, the impact of illegal migration on social services, and the assimilation of Hispanics through interethnic marriages. In another article, "Hispanic Migrants in New York: Work, Settlement and Adjustment," the authors provide an overview of an ongoing project on employment patterns, settlement/assimilation processes, and immigration as it relates to labor market theories. The third article, "Implications of Criminal Justice Administration: The Puerto Rican and Mexican-American Experiences," by Elizabeth Collado, reports on two seminar-workshops dealing with the Hispanic experience of criminal justice and the interrelationship between gangs, drugs, and prison in the Mexican-American "barrios" of Los Angeles. Finally, changing family structures, labor participation, and the health status of Hispanic females are the subjects of a research project and proposed conference discussed in the fourth article, "Research Issues: Family, Health, and Employment Patterns of Hispanic Women," by Ruth Zambrana. (AOS)

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HISPANIC DIVERSITY IN NEW YORK CITY

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and

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POPE JOHN PAUL II's use of Spanish as the second language in the televised mass celebrated at Yankee Stadium in October 1979 pointedly recognized the growing importance of the Hispanic community in the contemporary life of New York City. Conservative estimates indicate that in 1970 about 20 percent of the city's population was Hispanic. Even though reliable estimates are not available, two facts appear to be certain: the absolute and relative size of the Hispanic population continues to increase, and the composition of this population has changed markedly. This article will attempt to present a profile of New York City's Hispanic population and describe changes in the size, composition, and distribution of the Hispanic population; their housing, education, and health problems; and their impact on New York City.

Descriptive accounts of this type are necessarily informed guesses. The 1970 census data are out of date and are marred by serious problems in the undercounting of minority persons such as Hispanics. Moreover, the Hispanic population includes large numbers of undocumented or illegal

immigrants whom it is difficult to interview. Therefore, we have also used sources such as the Board of Education censuses, marriage records, and ethnographic accounts of specific communities.

The 1970 census counted 811,843 Puerto Ricans living in New York City. Another half million Hispanics were enumerated in the New York Metropolitan area, but this number is almost certainly a very low estimate due to undercount problems. It is the non-Puerto Rican Hispanic population which has been growing rapidly. Evidence indicates that more Puerto Ricans have been leaving the city than entering it. From 1969 to 1975, for example, 59,418 children transferred from public schools in Puerto Rico to public schools in New York City, whereas 72,544 made the transfer in the other direction. One million Puerto Ricans still remain in the city, however, and constitute the predominant Hispanic group. At the same time, the number of legal Hispanic immigrants has increased substantially. Thus, during the 1970s, approximately 12,600 Dominicans per year immigrated

legally to the United States, the vast majority settling in New York City. The flow of illegal migrants appears to be much higher, but precise estimates are not available. One informed estimate states that 300,000 Dominicans live in the United States with the substantial majority residing in New York City. Even though official statistics tend to classify all non-Puerto Rican Hispanics into one group, large numbers of Peruvians, Ecuadorians, and other South and Central Americans live in the city; in particular, there are large concentrations of Dominicans and Colombians. About 20 percent of the Hispanics who married in the city in 1975 were from South American countries, another 13 percent were Dominicans, 8 percent were from Central American countries, and 4 percent were Cubans.

While Dominicans and Puerto Ricans are disproportionately concentrated in New York, Hispanics from other countries tend to be more dispersed throughout the United States. Some estimates show that only one-third of the South Americans in the United States live in New York. Cubans

are also more dispersed than Dominicans and Puerto Ricans, though New Jersey is second only to Miami in its concentration of Cubans in the United States. Mexican-Americans constitute only a small fraction of the Hispanic population in New York City.

There is no reliable overview of the composition and residential distribution of New York's Hispanic population, but insight into these factors can be gained by collating official data sources with ethnographic accounts. Marriage records provide the best available data. They demonstrate that, in addition to considerable variation in socioeconomic position, distinct Hispanic residential patterns create numerous distinct Hispanic communities. Puerto Ricans constitute the numerically dominant group in all boroughs except Queens where the South Americans, with 43 percent of the Hispanic population, are numerically superior. The largest Puerto Rican communities exist in the Bronx and in Brooklyn. The largest Dominican communities are in the Upper West Side and Washington Heights areas of Manhattan, and in Corona, Queens. There is a South American colony of significant size in the north-central Queens communities of Jackson Heights, Elmhurst, and Woodside. Cubans and Central Americans are more evenly dispersed throughout the city, though both are disproportionately located in Manhattan. A large proportion of Central Americans reside in Brooklyn, and Cubans in Queens. This residential profile is corroborated by ethnographic observations and by an inventory we conducted of the location of distribution points for all Dominican, South and Central American newspapers.

Socioeconomic Characteristics

The socioeconomic status of Hispanics varies considerably at both the national level and within New York City. Cubans, South and Central Americans (not including Mexican-Americans at the national level) have relatively high levels of education and

occupation status. Puerto Ricans and Dominicans (and Mexicans at the national level) rank relatively low in education and occupation status. While Mexican-Americans constitute this nation's largest Hispanic group, they represent a small fraction of New York's Hispanic population and in New York City they appear to be of higher socioeconomic status than Mexican-Americans at the national level.

Among Hispanics 25 years of age or older in the United States, 40.8 percent had completed at least four years of high school as of March 1978. This level, which is substantially lower than the 65.9 percent level for the entire U.S. population, does not reveal the considerable variation in education among Hispanics. The Puerto Rican and Mexican-American levels are 36.0 and 34.3 percent, respectively, while the Cuban level is 49.1 percent, and that of all other Hispanics is 58.5 percent. Cubans and those classified by the Census Bureau in the "other Hispanic" category have percentages of their populations completing four or more years of college similar to that of the total U.S. population: 13.9 and 13.8 percent, respectively, as compared to 15.7 percent.

The occupational distributions of the different Hispanic groups reflect their differences in educational attainment. While only 24.1 percent of employed Hispanic males, 16 years of age or over, had white collar jobs (versus 42 percent of the total population), 39.7 percent of Cubans and 35.1 percent of those in the "other Hispanic" category did white collar work. While the Hispanic median family income of \$11,421 falls considerably below the national median of \$16,009 for all groups, the Hispanic median is weighted down by the low averages of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. The Cuban median family income, for example, was \$14,182 in 1978.

The national origin mix of Hispanics in New York City differs markedly from that of the country as a whole. While Mexicans dominate the national statistics, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and South Americans constitute the

vast majority of the city's Hispanic population. Census publications provide detailed data on the Puerto Rican population, but not on other Hispanics in the city. We, therefore, rely on marriage record data to provide a profile of the city's various Hispanic populations.

New York City's marriage records contain information on the current occupations of brides and grooms. Unfortunately, other data on socioeconomic status are not collected, but occupation does provide useful information on socioeconomic status. Cubans have relatively high status occupations in the city as they do in the nation: 19 percent hold professional or managerial positions, and another 35 percent are in white collar positions. Dominicans and Puerto Ricans have the lowest status positions. Only 7.7 percent of Dominican grooms and 9.8 percent of Puerto Rican grooms have professional or managerial positions, with over half in each group located in low-skill blue collar or service positions. The occupational distributions of South and Central Americans more closely approximate that of Cubans than those of Dominicans and Puerto Ricans. The situation for brides is essentially the same, except that significantly fewer brides listed any occupation and a disproportionately large number of Puerto Rican brides listed no occupation: 48.5 percent as compared to 31.6 of Cuban and 37.4 percent of Dominican brides who listed no occupation. The data conform to numerous other studies of female labor force participation: most groups have high levels of participation, with the exception of Puerto Rican women who have a low level of employment. While only partial, these figures on the socioeconomic status of the various Hispanic groups of New York City parallel the Hispanic national pattern.

We must keep in mind that the occupational status of immigrant populations tends to underestimate the human resources the immigrants bring with them. This is so because of factors such as language barriers and assorted disruptions brought on by the

process of migration. In addition, an unknown proportion of migrants work in the secondary labor market with the goal of maximizing earnings for a return migration rather than building a career.

This assertion brings us into the realm of complex and untested theories about the causes and nature of current international migration. Considerable data support the claim that Hispanic migrants experience some downward mobility upon entering the host society. Moreover, the tendency to stereotype Hispanic immigrants as peasants with little training is false even for the relatively poorer Dominican immigrants.

The effects of migration on occupational status can be gauged by examining the relationship between generation of residence in this country and occupational status. With the exception of Puerto Rican brides and grooms and Cuban grooms, second-generation Hispanics have markedly higher status occupations than the first. Whereas only 7.4 percent of first-generation Dominican grooms had professional or managerial positions, that figure rises to 20.5 percent in the second generation. South and Central Americans experience similarly dramatic increases. The already large Cuban percentage in high status jobs in the first generation probably accounts for the small generational increase they experience. However, the relatively low status of first-generation Puerto Ricans is only marginally improved in the second generation. Generation of residence is strongly related to assimilation and to occupational status for Hispanic groups.

Social Welfare Problems

The diversity of the Hispanic population and the limited scope of official statistics restrict us to fragmentary accounts of the social welfare problems of Hispanics in New York City. The socioeconomic and residential diversities of the Hispanic populations strongly indicate that housing, health, and other social

welfare conditions vary considerably.

Because a significant, if unknown, proportion of non-Puerto Rican, non-Cuban Hispanics are illegal or improperly documented immigrants, special social welfare problems exist. Individuals who fear detection or lack appropriate identification will find it more difficult to take advantage of existing services. Some hospitals in the city often require identification of citizenship or immigrant status prior to administering emergency services. This fact highlights the tenuous existence of hundreds of thousands of Hispanics. Illegal migrants do use some services, but we know next to nothing about the extent of this use, nor about the implications of illegal status for the welfare of Hispanic individuals. One consequence of illegal status is a heightened vulnerability to exploitation. Poor immigrants, in general, and improperly documented ones, in particular, are in no position to complain about substandard wages or poor working conditions. They are quite likely to work for at least some time in the lower paying, insecure jobs provided by the marginal, underground industries of the city, such as the garment and restaurant industries and in domestic service. At present, our knowledge concerning the actual employment experiences of most legal or illegal immigrants is so sparse that we cannot determine the magnitude of exploitation in the labor market. We believe it is not trivial. Employment in the secondary sector entails a lack of participation in health plan, retirement plans, and other job-related benefits.

Evidence has been accumulating which indicates that Hispanics experience serious obstacles in their interactions with major societal institutions, such as the health delivery and criminal justice establishments. The obstacles extend well beyond those which restrict access to institutions by illegal immigrants. Linguistic and cultural differences between Hispanic clients and non-Hispanic officials and staff constitute major barriers.

Evidence indicates that the city's Puerto Rican population has high rates of drug abuse, lead poisoning, cirrhosis

of the liver, accident and homicide-related deaths, as well as poor representation at the delivery end of the health system. Because the same rates for blacks were also found to be high, the health problems appear to be related to conditions of general poverty. The barriers to adequate health care appear to be structural in character; that is, physicians generally practice in more lucrative areas than those in which Puerto Ricans (and blacks) tend to live; and hospital staff at the treatment and administrative levels remains disproportionately non-Hispanic. Underrepresentation at the administrative and professional levels of the city's hospitals is far worse for Hispanics than for blacks. The significance of these distributions lies in the communication barriers set up by language differences and differing conceptions of illness.

Data from New York State and federal prisons indicate that Hispanics are becoming increasingly overrepresented in the criminal justice system. There is evidence to suggest that the Hispanic offenders' collective experience is different from that of offenders of other origins while being processed through the criminal justice system. Data from a federal court showed that being a Hispanic increases the probability that the offender has been convicted of a drug offense, decreases the probability of being placed on probation, increases the probability of being sent to prison, and increases the probability of a longer sentence, if placed on probation. There is sufficient evidence to state that ethnicity interacts with the system in such a way that even when analytical controls are imposed upon the character of the offense, Hispanics receive harsher sentences and are more likely to be sent to prison.

The issue of bilingualism has emerged as a major factor in the efforts of Hispanic groups to improve their situation. The size of New York's Hispanic population has meant that much social and economic life goes on without the use of English. Two UHF television stations broadcast primarily in Spanish; three radio stations

broadcast in Spanish; one large distribution daily newspaper publishes in Spanish; numerous periodicals from Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Colombia, and other Latin American countries are flown in and distributed throughout the city on a daily basis. Many commercial enterprises are run by Hispanics and many others have begun to seek the Hispanic market by advertising in Spanish and providing Spanish-language services – a process which reflects the large numbers of Hispanics in the labor force.

Nevertheless, serious debate has emerged over the roles of English and Spanish in institutions such as the courts, polling booths, and the schools. Nowhere has the issue of bilingualism been so important as in the schools. Several studies have indicated that children who were born in the United States or began school in the United States at an early age have few problems in school stemming from a language barrier. Large numbers of non-English-speaking students, however, are entering the school system in mid-career and language barriers constitute an important problem. Correlatively, data indicate that of every 100 Puerto Rican pupils who enter high school only about 30 graduate.

Hispanics are not well represented in professional positions in the public school system. In the 1968-69 school year, 21.5 percent of the system's pupils, but only .8 percent of the teachers, were Puerto Rican. A significant discrepancy remains despite a dramatic increase in the hiring of Hispanic teachers during the 1970s. Since the passage of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968, the federal government has initiated several programs aimed at assisting pupils with limited English-speaking ability. The impact of these programs cannot be clearly specified because of a lack of clarity in goals: Do they primarily provide compensatory enrichment or a mechanism for preserving Hispanic culture and language? The extent and nature of New York's programs have been debated in the courts and continue to be important political issues.

Impact on the City and Assimilation of Hispanics

We have already discussed several aspects of the Hispanic impact on New York City: the growing importance of the Spanish language and other developments in the mass media and the schools. One could argue, however, that the primary impact of the growth of the Hispanic population has been economic, but this impact, unfortunately, is extremely difficult to measure. Some argue that the large, illegal immigrant component causes unemployment among U.S. citizens and among legal immigrants; others that migrant labor, legal and illegal, are filling jobs other persons do not want or which could not exist if wages had to be raised. This would mean that marginal industries – such as the garment and restaurant industries – are being kept viable by immigrants and providing much broader economic benefits through a multiplier effect. Our official and our scholarly data are so poor, however, that neither position, nor any intermediate one, can be decisively supported or refuted.

Our problem is not only to estimate the impact of illegal immigrants on the social structure and economy of the city, but also to estimate the impact of a large, diverse set of all types of immigrants. A high percentage of Hispanic immigrants are here legally. Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens and most Cubans have been either granted the status of permanent resident (or citizen) or paroled in the U.S. as refugees. Large numbers of other Hispanics are legal immigrants who qualify either because of the presence of relatives here or because of their special occupation, and others who do not have immigrant status reside here under more limited visas (mainly tourists).

We know too that there are a large number of Hispanic immigrants in marginal, low-paying jobs. Hispanics are serving a wide range of economic functions. A significant proportion of New York's Hispanics are becoming long-term residents of this country, despite the often repeated theme that their stay is temporary.

The settlement of immigrants in the United States has always involved a gradual process of increasing local commitments. As time passes some immigrants find better jobs, make financial commitments, marry non-immigrants, or form families which enmesh them in locally based reciprocal obligations. Throughout our history a high proportion of immigrants have returned to their countries of origin. Our knowledge of the factors which led some immigrants to settle permanently and others to return remains vague whether we are talking about earlier immigrants from Europe or today's Hispanic immigrants. Yet, there are indications that settlement and assimilation processes are well underway. Relatively large numbers of Hispanics in New York City are marrying non-Hispanics. Overall, outgroup marriage rates in 1975 in the city ranged from a low of 29.5 percent for Puerto Ricans to a high of 63.4 percent for Cubans. Over 75 percent of all second generation, non-Puerto Rican Hispanic brides married outside of their national origin group. Although many outgroup marriages occur among Hispanics – between Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, for example – a surprisingly large proportion of these marriages have involved non-Hispanics: from a low of 6 percent for all Dominican grooms to a high of 32.4 percent for all Cuban grooms. The percentage of second generation Hispanics marrying non-Hispanics ranges from the Puerto Rican low of 8.1 percent (grooms) to a high of 63.9 percent for Central American brides. Among non-Puerto Rican second-generation Hispanics the lowest rate of intermarriage with non-Hispanics is the 32.4 percent rate of Dominican brides. These data on intermarriage reflect the increasing permanency of the Hispanic presence in New York City. Marital assimilation means that a high level of intergroup activity is occurring and that increasing levels of commitment to permanent settlement are emerging. The case of the city's Puerto Rican population presents a puzzle and a challenge. Not only is their intermarriage rate lower than those of

more recent immigrant groups, but their second generation has not experienced any tendency toward marital assimilation.

Perhaps the most striking aspect about recent research on New York's Hispanic populations is the accumulating evidence that Puerto Ricans are lagging in terms of assimilation and in terms of economic competition. In addition to the marital assimilation pattern and the decline in female labor force participation, numerous sources indicate that, relative to other groups in New York and in the United States, Puerto Ricans are falling behind in terms of income. Between 1959 and 1969, real income of

New York Puerto Rican families increased 13 percent, while those of blacks and of the total city population increased 26 and 23 percent, respectively. Data for the country as a whole indicate that this economic slippage is occurring outside of the city also. In 1969, 28 percent of Puerto Rican families and 15 percent of the majority population families were below the poverty level. By 1976, the Puerto Rican rate had risen to 32 percent while the majority population rate declined to 9 percent. Much of this pattern can be attributed to the relatively rapid increase of female-headed households among Puerto Ricans; since Puerto Rican husband-

wife-headed families appeared to have kept up with others. This points our attention to the social structural forces impacting on the Puerto Rican family. One fact appears certain: Puerto Ricans have been experiencing severe social and economic stresses. The profile of other Hispanic groups in New York presented here indicates that the social and economic experiences of other Hispanics have differed considerably from those of Puerto Ricans. This emphasizes the imperative need of distinguishing among Hispanic groups for purposes of public policy and practice and our own general understanding.

RESEARCH REPORT
HISPANIC MIGRANTS IN NEW YORK:
WORK, SETTLEMENT AND ADJUSTMENT
By Douglas T. Gurak, Senior Research Associate,
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and
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THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE of Mental Health has recently approved a research project that will investigate several aspects of the social and economic life of recent Hispanic immigrants to New York City. This study has three dimensions: (1) the employment situation of the immigrants, (2) the factors associated with settlement transformation from a predominantly transient status to one of relative permanency, and (3) the adjustment and adaptation processes utilized by the immigrants. The core of the project consists of a survey of a probability sample of Dominicans and Colombians in areas of Queens and Manhattan where significant concentrations of these populations reside. This report provides an overview of the key conceptual issues which led to the formulation of the project and which will guide its development.

While New York City has had a large Hispanic population for decades, the composition of that population has changed significantly over the past ten years. Non-Puerto Rican Hispanic groups are growing rapidly in absolute terms and relative to other large ethnic groups in the city. Not only has the national-origin composition been changing, but so too have the socioeconomic status and residential distribution of Hispanic ethnic groups, as attested to by statistics from the Board of Education and marriage records, and by social-service and ethnographic observers. However, only limited data are available on the emerging Hispanic groups: Dominicans, Colombians, Ecuadorians, Peruvians, and other Latin Americans.

Large areas of upper Manhattan are settled by Dominicans; and large areas of northern Queens are settled by

Dominicans, Ecuadorians, and other Latin Americans. These areas do not have large concentrations of Puerto Ricans who are found primarily in the Bronx and Brooklyn. These populations are growing and their role in the future of a New York whose general population is shrinking looms increasingly important, yet only poorly grounded hypotheses exist to guide our understanding of what that role might be. We know little of the process of immigration, of adjustment to social and economic conditions, of factors which foster or hinder permanent settlement, of the labor market conditions within which they operate, and of the needs of these groups for basic human services.

Settlement and Assimilation

The concept of settlement has not

been carefully defined in the literature, nor has it been operationalized in a comprehensive fashion. In the past, analysts of immigration tended to exaggerate the normalcy of settlement: immigrants sought to settle in a new land, and those who failed returned home. Settlement cannot be equated with assimilation or even with adjustment, although these factors are correlated. Settlement as an operational concept, thus, requires considerable refinement if we are to understand the situation of new immigrant groups and their role in U.S. society in general, and in specific areas such as New York in particular. Operationalization, therefore, constitutes a major goal of this project. More generally, settlement refers to the process by which one's lifestyle and attitudes change so that the probability of long-term residence increases significantly.

Assimilation and acculturation mean different things to different researchers. Sociologists tend to dissociate acculturation (assuming new modes of dress, food, and language) from assimilation (organizational and institutional integration including factors such as outgroup marriage). Some social scientists associate assimilation with the loss of one's culture, while others see assimilation as the process of change in the institutions and practices of both immigrant and receiving societies or as a change in the relative social distances separating groups.

Regardless of the aspect of assimilation focused upon, assimilation indexes major changes in the lifestyles and daily interactions of immigrants. Many aspects of these changes may be influenced by the settlement process. Adjustment can be defined in various ways; however, its narrowest conceptualization focuses on learning how to utilize institutions necessary to the maintenance of an accepted way of living.

Studies of ethnic groups in the United States, and of adjustment and assimilation processes exist in significant numbers. They provide a reasonably rich frame of reference for

examining such social processes, however, serious gaps limit our ability to construct a general picture of the process of immigration. One of these gaps is obvious: very little empirical data has been generated on recent Hispanic immigrant groups.

A common theme in recent research emphasizes the new nature of current international migration to industrialized countries. New in the sense that individuals do not intend to stay. It is assumed that earlier migrants intended to settle permanently. We know that return migration has always been high and we have ethnographic indicators that call into question the distinction between old and new migrations. Nevertheless, we do not possess systematic studies of the settlement process, only assumptions.

The immigration of Dominicans, Colombians, and other Latin Americans to the United States has constituted a major population flow since the early 1960s. The Census Bureau estimated that in March 1978, 863,000 people of South or Central American origin were in the United States. To this number must be added an unknown number of Latin Americans who were not included in the total because of the undercount associated with illegal and/or transient status.

Although we can document the approximate magnitude of the new Hispanic immigration, the basic picture remains one of almost no systematic data. General studies of ethnic assimilation in the United States almost never include Hispanics: when they do, they are included as a single residual group dominated by the Mexican-American population. Only census data provide sufficient cases for the analysis of specific Hispanic groups, but here, too, problems exist. Census publications do not disaggregate the South or Central American category, nor do they provide data on Dominicans. In addition, when the focus is on small areas such as New York City, Census Public Use Samples or Current Population Survey data force aggregations of Hispanic groups. These basic data constraints have reinforced an erroneous image of

Hispanic homogeneity.

We know very little about the social characteristics of South and Central Americans in the United States or in New York City – the most distinctly Dominican and South American city in the U.S. In general, we know that immigrants from South and Central American countries are of relatively high socioeconomic status, similar to the Cuban immigrant population. The image of Dominicans as peasant immigrants which has been fostered in the literature appears to be misleading. We also know that the settlement patterns and levels of assimilation of Hispanic groups differ. For example, while the overwhelming majority of Dominicans reside in the New York City area, perhaps only one-third of South Americans do. However, no U.S. city has as large a concentration of South Americans as does New York.

Outgroup marriage rates of South and Central Americans in New York City are high: 48.4 and 56.1 percent, respectively, in 1975. These rates are similar to the Cuban level of 63.4 percent. The Dominican rate of 37.9 percent, while much lower, still exceeds the very low outgroup marriage rate of Puerto Ricans: 29.5 percent. Outgroup marriage figures, indicators of structural assimilation, demonstrate yet another aspect of Hispanic heterogeneity and indicate levels of assimilation that are much higher than current theory on the international migration of labor would have us expect.

Taken together, what we know about Dominicans and South and Central Americans in New York City constitutes only enough to permit us to frame intelligent questions. What accounts for variations in factors such as residential patterns, socioeconomic conditions, and assimilation processes? How do the economic factors, so important in accounting for the immigration streams, interact with group cultures to generate such a wide range of adaptations?

The presence of large numbers of illegal or improperly documented immigrants in New York further

complicates our ability to describe the Hispanic communities in the city. No reliable estimate of the size of this population at the national level exists (a 3 to 5 million range is currently the most accepted one: U.S. House of Representatives, 1978).

Immigrant Labor and Labor Market Theories

Migration is caused by diverse push-and-pull factors. It is widely accepted that economic factors play a crucial role in the formation and maintenance of migration flows. It is also widely accepted that the migration process is considerably more complex than an oversimplified model which would have individuals moving continually to locations that promise to maximize their wages. While people who migrate for economic reasons do go to places that provide better economic returns, they do not necessarily migrate to those areas of the U.S. that provide the highest wages and lowest levels of unemployment. Factors such as kinship and friendship networks serve as channels of communication and assistance. Consequently, such factors influence migration flows and settlement processes. Nevertheless, we would be amiss if we denied that it is necessary to understand the economic basis of migration if we are to illuminate the settlement process.

Much theoretical work has recently emerged on the relationship between immigration and economic factors. Much of this work can be classified under the label "segmental labor market theory." This emerging school of thought focuses on the role of economic systems of advanced capitalist countries in causing and maintaining the character of the flows of migrant workers, which have been increasing in magnitude. Numerous variations of this approach exist. Currently, both conceptual issues and a lack of rigorous criteria for empirical support continue to limit the power of these approaches; however, new directions of research have been generated by the extensive theoretical

work. This study does not seek to test theories such as those of segmented economies or labor markets, rather, it seeks to expand the empirical base necessary for evaluating key assumptions and predictions found in these approaches. Specifically, we focus on the meaning and consequences of variations in the settlement process for sector location, and on the consequences of sector location for adjustment and settlement processes.

Explanations of the role of the economic structure of the receiving country are diverse. They range from simple statements that migrant labor responds to general labor shortages, to arguments that relative shortages exist because of native labor's refusal to fill jobs at the bottom of the hierarchy, to a complex set of claims that distinct labor markets or subeconomies exist which require a specific type of labor force best supplied by immigrant and/or powerless populations. All of these approaches suffer from a lack of specific criteria which could be used to determine their empirical adequacy.

The bulk of current work on the receiving country's sources of demand for migrant labor falls within the dual economy or segmented labor market categories. While proponents of such approaches differ considerably in key areas, such as fundamental source of segmentation, several common themes run through their arguments. First, they all focus on the characteristics of the system and of the jobs when accounting for migrant streams and for the conditions under which migrant labor lives. Second, they all argue that economic and other factors have generated sectors of the economy which require special controls over labor in order to survive.

Dual labor market theory provides a good example of such an approach. The economy is divided into a primary sector and a secondary sector. The primary sector is characterized by industries which are relatively stable, reflecting their approximation of monopoly control of their markets, prices and profits. Jobs in this sector are generally stable and relatively well paid according to the theory. The

theory also generally assumes that primary sectors are reserved to, or at least disproportionately limited to, the native population with the secondary sector being the locus of minority populations. The secondary sector consists of industries functioning in a more competitive and, consequently, vulnerable market. These industries are more strongly buffeted by system crises and short-term cyclical forces. Their vulnerability means that labor must be controllable. The secondary sector requires a more powerless labor force in order to survive. Immigrant labor, it is argued, along with internal minorities, meets this need. Yet we have very little data on where immigrants are locating within the economy. We do not know, for example, whether members of some Hispanic groups are more likely to work in the insecure, poorly paid, no-advancement secondary sector than members of majority groups or other immigrant or minority groups.

To the extent that immigrants do not settle in the receiving country, but only earn money there, it is possible to manipulate them in terms of job conditions much more than native workers can be. However, despite intentions, some immigrants become permanent settlers. As the settlement process proceeds, the conditions of insecurity and poor living standards become unacceptable to the immigrant. Part of this shift is said to be related to the increasing importance of the local community as a reference group over the community in the country of origin. If this line of reasoning is correct, then a reasonable expectation would be that the organization and degree of settlement of an immigrant group will interact with the willingness of new immigrants to work in secondary sectors. It has been argued that other variables interact with the settlement process and that these factors vary across ethnic groups. Data on Cuban and Mexican immigrants indicate that employment within ethnic enclaves provides special benefits to immigrants which are partially independent of sector location. The settlement pattern

of Cubans, indeed, may be distinct from that of other ethnic groups because of the political refugee status of Cuban immigrants and because the human capital resources of Cubans may have been greater than those of other Hispanic groups. Their situation highlights the need to consider individual and contextual factors which modify the process of settlement: there is little reason to believe that this process is the same for all Hispanic groups.

To summarize the common points of segmental economy/market approaches, immigrant labor is seen as an efficient response to the structure of capitalist economies. It is efficient because of the characteristics of systems of migrant labor (e.g., powerlessness and transient nature) rather than because of characteristics of individual migrant workers (e.g., skill

levels). The need for this labor in the receiving country is generated by the segmentation of the economy – principally the formation of a relatively vulnerable secondary sector.

If immigrants are involved in substantially different forms of economic activities than are most residents of a country and if these differences imply differential lifestyles that go beyond the simple performance of different tasks (i.e., implying differential chances for rewards, advancement, and security), then any attempt to understand how immigrants become more integrated into the social fabric must carefully consider their employment situations. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that segmental labor market theorists have performed very poorly in providing empirical evidence. Several studies have demonstrated that large numbers of

immigrants do not work in the so-called secondary sector. Many, however, do. We will attempt to generate reliable empirical data on the processes which lead to more permanent settlement in the United States, by exploring employment histories, conditions prior to immigration, attitudes and values, and the impact of kinship and friendship networks. A high proportion of immigrants will respond Yes to the question of whether they plan to return to their home country. Nevertheless, many will gradually form friendships, marriages, economic and political commitments which will increase the probability that that return, if it occurs, will be a visit. It is the factors that move one toward or away from the accumulation of commitments that we seek to clarify.

IMPLICATIONS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE ADMINISTRATION: THE PUERTO RICAN AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN EXPERIENCES

By Elizabeth Collado, Hispanic Research Center Staff Member

IN ITS ENDEAVOR to disseminate research findings from projects which aim to increase the body of knowledge on Hispanic populations and concerns, the Hispanic Research Center recently hosted two seminar-workshops – one conducted by Dr. Peter L. Sissons, author of the monograph, **The Hispanic Experience of Criminal Justice**, and the other headed by Dr. Joan W. Moore, whose book **Homeboys: Gangs, Drugs, and Prison in the Barrios of Los Angeles** was awarded the prestigious Spivack Award given by the American Sociological Association.

Academicians and practitioners in the criminal justice field attended the workshop conducted by Dr. Sissons, author of the third in a series of monographs published by the Hispanic Research Center. Dr. Sissons' study attempted to research the effects of the criminal justice system upon the Hispanic offender, in contrast to the usual focus adopted by most

researchers in the criminal justice field who have emphasized the effects created by offenders upon the criminal justice system, while neglecting the experience of those whom the system is designed to process.

The research objectives were carried out through the examination of official data maintained by New York State's Department of Corrections, the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports, and information from other sources. Based upon these data, a comparative analysis was made of offender ethnicity. Because of the study's focus upon the criminal justice involvement of Hispanics in New York and New Jersey, the study sample yielded a stronger profile of the Puerto Rican offender population than of other Hispanic groups.

In order to place the recommendations discussed at the workshop in the proper context, we will summarize the major issues brought to

prominence by this investigation.

– The study revealed that the proportion of Puerto Rican males newly admitted to State correctional facilities grew at an alarming rate of 76.5 percent between 1971 and 1975, in comparison to white and black offender groups whose admission rates decreased by 2 percent and 1.4 percent, respectively.

– Social indicators such as educational attainment and occupational position serve to differentiate the Hispanic inmate population from offender groups of other racial/ethnic backgrounds. Data for 1976, for example, showed that 38 percent of the newly admitted white inmates had completed high school, as compared to 26.6 percent of the black inmates, and only 13.6 percent of the Puerto Rican inmates. Most striking was the finding that close to 40 percent of the Puerto Ricans had not advanced beyond elementary school.

- A large majority of the prison population had held low-level jobs, particularly the Hispanic and black populations. Dr. Sissons' contention was that the disparities in occupational levels found among inmate populations are a reflection of the differences found in American society at large. The data raised the yet unresearched question: Is the history of deprivation evidenced educationally and occupationally, sufficient in itself to explain the rise in the incarceration of Hispanics?

- The study found that the Hispanic inmate population may be distinguished from other ethnic groups on the basis of the type of offense which led to imprisonment. Between 1975 and 1976 the largest proportion of Puerto Rican commitments were for drug-related offenses. The black population, whose commitment was more often the result of a robbery charge, had the smallest percentage of violators for drug-related activities. Drugs were also found to be the reason for the incarceration of non-Puerto Rican Hispanics.

- The research brought to the fore the differential treatment accorded the Hispanic offender group. The ultimate disposition of a case can follow either of two courses: probation or imprisonment with the opportunity for parole. For the majority of cases involving Hispanics, the outcome is usually a prison sentence. When probation is deemed appropriate the sentence is likely to be longer for the Hispanic than for other offender groups. So often is the Hispanic selected for incarceration that any changes in the current application of criminal justice policies would likely result in a radical alteration of the ethnic balance in the prisons.

Having exposed wide-ranging disparities between the Hispanic interaction with the criminal justice system and the experience of other ethnic groups, the study generated several important recommendations.

As with many studies which utilize official data to test hypotheses, the criminal justice data were found lacking. The data collection phase of

the project revealed that public records are vague in their methods of presenting information on ethnicity, namely, the criteria used to identify Hispanics by the various reporting agencies suffer from a lack of uniformity. Thus, study urgently calls for more rationalization of data, by ethnicity and sex, to identify who the criminal justice system is processing. Records should consider not only the proportions of Hispanic offenders but also the extent of Hispanic victimization.

The topic of victimization raises fundamental questions and is felt to be so vital that the author recommends the formulation of an overall research plan to address the problems of Hispanic victims vis-a-vis a criminal justice system where assistance and support from Hispanic representatives are largely unavailable. Some areas cited for investigation are: the influence of the Hispanic perception of the U.S. legal system and procedures; the contributions of voluntary community networks of support in satisfying victims' needs so that recourse to official agencies is unnecessary; and the role that language difficulties may play in reducing communication between Hispanic victims and criminal justice officials.

A review and improvement of available support systems for Hispanic offenders and their families are also in order. An intervening variable which may be focused upon in this regard is the Hispanic cultural element of "shame," which may play a role in the comparatively high rates of suicide among imprisoned Hispanics. As the numbers of incarcerated Hispanics continue to grow, special attention should be given to expanding counseling and related services for the inmate and his family.

The study also recommended that explanations for the high prevalence of Hispanic involvement in drug-related crimes be sought in major research efforts which would explore the socio-cultural and socioeconomic conditions which may be responsible for such extensive involvement.

Once the offender becomes enmeshed in the criminal justice system, it would be interesting to monitor disparities in sentences meted out to Hispanics in comparison to other offender subgroups. Such vigilance would more accurately reflect the suspected influence of ethnicity upon the ultimate disposition of a case. Efforts should be directed toward following the progression of the offender step by step through all the stages of criminal processing.

Juxtaposed with a research emphasis upon the causes behind the rising incidence of Hispanic incarceration should be a stress upon the significance of the quality of legal counsel which the Hispanic defendant receives and the overwhelming tendency of judges to summarily remand defendants to prison through the practice of plea bargaining.

At various points throughout the work, the author makes a distinction between the legal perceptions and experiences of migrants from Latin American nations, where a civil law ethos prevails, and the legal system of the United States, which is founded on English common law. Civil law presupposes the rationality of the human will and adheres to historically accepted proceedings which are non-public and in which the judge plays an investigatory role; common law follows a doctrine of established precedents and has provisions for an adversary system of criminal justice and trial by jury. It is suggested that the varying interpretations of these two traditions may influence both the extent of criminal behavior and the reactions of victims toward the criminal justice apparatus. The existence of differing sociolegal traditions suggests the need for increasing Hispanic representation in decision-making positions within criminal justice agencies.

A related theme was addressed by Dr. Joan Moore, vice-president of the Chicano Pinto Research Project in Los Angeles. In her study academia merged with Chicano offenders and ex-offenders in a collaborative effort from which mutual benefits were derived.

The roots of Chicano youth's

conflict with the law lie in the gangs or neighborhood subcultures, of which there are many in the Chicano barrios of East Los Angeles. The gangs form the structural base which often extends into the prison systems of California. The study which produced the book **Homeboys** concentrates on three communities in the East Los Angeles area, each with its own gangs and cliques. The **pintos** (those who have served time in **la pinta** or the penitentiary) identify each other as "homeboys," a term meaning brotherhood. Chicano convicts will normally answer a question about their origin by referring first to their neighborhood or community, followed by the name of a gang or a clique within the gang.

The Chicano's first brush with the law is often the outcome of gang activity. Gang membership, however, poses more serious implications for Chicano youth in that it consistently leads to drug abuse and addiction. Like the Puerto Ricans of New York and New Jersey, Chicano youth is most often imprisoned for drug offenses. This pattern has produced a large group of Chicano youngsters who have been State-raised in prisons and hence present an institutional phenomenon.

Gang membership alone does not explain involvement in the drug world. The poor economic conditions which exist in the Chicano communities are also responsible for luring youth into drug addiction.

The nature of the crime is usually a determinant in the type of "rehabilitation" the offender will receive from the hands of the State. Chicano pintos are characterized by the criminal justice system as hard-core offenders and are most often assigned to maximum security custody where virtually no rehabilitation programs are implemented. Prison training programs for Chicanos do not offer them the opportunity to acquire new skills. Their job assignments usually involve institutional maintenance or are oriented toward State profit while being labor-intensive and even hazardous to prisoner health (work in the jute mills, for example).

Like the Puerto Rican offender

population, Chicanos receive harsh sentences. In this context, the deficiencies of prison-based programs are particularly detrimental for those Chicanos who spend a major part of their lives in the institutional setting of a prison.

The pervasiveness and regenerative power of the gangs which prevent eventual interaction with the criminal justice system can be partially understood by reflecting upon the secondary labor market theory, as Dr. Moore explained. The poor Chicano community remains viable through participation in an economic structure which combines unstable "cash jobs," the welfare structure, and the illegal structure. The lack of honest job opportunities enhances the attractiveness of the illicit sector of the barrio economy. The socioeconomic conditions of the Chicano communities thus create a fertile environment for the proliferation of gangs and the resultant criminal behavior.

The study presents several avenues

which could work to improve conditions and interrupt the cycle from street gang to prison for Chicano youth. Among these is the recommendation that gang behavior be channeled into constructive activity. Another recommendation is to abandon the archaic "reform" programs currently being practiced which teach no marketable skills to the offender and, hence, leave him economically obsolete when released from prison. Rehabilitation programs must also provide general education, intensive skills training, and other supportive services. The ultimate intent of rehabilitation should be to resocialize the offender and give a positive orientation which the barrios of East Los Angeles cannot possibly give. Without such reorganization, the criminal justice system can only have a deleterious impact upon the lives of the Puerto Ricans and the Mexican-Americans who come to interact with it.

RESEARCH ISSUES: FAMILY, HEALTH, AND EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS OF HISPANIC WOMEN

By Ruth Zambrana, Research Associate, Hispanic Research Center

THE PARTICULAR NEEDS of women have generated serious concern in the last decade. However, the problems and needs of Hispanic women have not been well identified or articulated. The lack of systematic data on Hispanic women has impeded the development of appropriate programs and services and relevant policy formulation. There are several areas where data are needed on Hispanic women: their changing family patterns, employment patterns, and health status.

Changes in the Hispanic family

In recent years, the growing phenomenon of single-parent families has caused much concern and stimulated much research interest. The analysis of demographic data suggests

that rising divorce rates, increased teenage pregnancies, and more opportunities for women outside of marriage have contributed significantly to increased single-parent families.

In New York City, single-parent families increased by 73.9 percent between 1960 and 1970, with the greatest increase among minority groups. During this ten-year period, female-headed families among blacks increased from 39.3 to 52 percent, and among Puerto Ricans, from 34 to 43 percent. The income of Puerto Rican single-parent families is the lowest of other single-parent groups in the city. Only one-fourth of the heads of Puerto Rican single-parent families were gainfully employed in 1975 and their median annual income was \$5,653. Thus, although the number and

percentage of single-parent families are increasing, which has been generally shown to increase labor participation, the number of Puerto Rican women in the work force has been decreasing.

A large number of Puerto Rican mothers receive economic assistance from Aid to Families of Dependent Children (AFDC). Forty percent of AFDC mothers are under 30 years of age; 70 percent were born outside of New York City, mainly in the southern states of the nation and in Puerto Rico; 48 percent are of Hispanic origin, mainly Puerto Rican; 42 percent are black; and 10 percent are white. Only 25 percent of this population are high-school graduates and close to 60 percent had worked before having children, but did not return to work afterwards.

It has been suggested that the status of single-parent families is a transitional one because the majority of women remarry or reenter a relationship with another adult. This is supported by the fact that the national median stay on AFDC is two years. Among Puerto Rican women, however, very little is known about their employment patterns or the role which AFDC plays in their lives.

Research is needed on the sociocultural adjustment processes of Hispanic single-parent families, on the consequences of this status on the woman and her children, and on the coping strategies which these women use, particularly the use of the extended family network and social services.

Labor force participation of Hispanic women

The relationship between work and women has been much researched, but this research has not provided insight into the factors which influence the employment patterns of Hispanic women. The policy implications of understanding the employment patterns of Hispanic women are multiple. The first and most obvious implication is that any effort to increase the labor participation of Hispanic women must be based on a

real understanding of the most significant variables influencing that participation. Second, since mobility and improved quality of life in the United States are achieved largely through the economic system, Hispanic women, more than other American women, are missing opportunities by being outside of this system. In order to equalize the life opportunities of these women, their need to have equal access is critical in terms of any policy that strives toward equity. Third, understanding the labor force participation of Hispanic women has policy implications which extend to areas outside of the labor market itself. It is clear, for example, that the fertility, birth control patterns, and timing of children are related to employment patterns; in addition, working mothers have been shown to be strong role models for the education and career aspirations of their daughters. Finally, changes in lifestyle are related to female employment patterns and many of these changes, such as those entailing childcare, spending patterns, and residential mobility, are areas in which policy implications are important.

It has been suggested that the decreasing labor force participation of Puerto Rican women in New York is related to the growth of single parenthood. Studies have also shown that Puerto Rican single parents have low educational levels which impede their opportunity to enter the labor market. Thus, a closer examination of the interrelationship between labor force status, economic opportunities, and family structure is necessary.

Health needs of Hispanic women

The health needs of Hispanic women, particularly low-income women, are little understood. Hispanic women have a crucial impact on the development and health of their families. They share a disproportionately large part of the responsibility not only for the care and nurturing of their children but also for their support. In New York, this responsibility is particularly striking, given the increase

in families headed by women (approximately 40 percent in 1976) and the disproportionately low rate (26 percent) of labor force participation by these women.

The Hispanic woman faces many barriers in her attempt to negotiate with major health care institutions for her own health care services and those of her children. The primary barriers for this population are linguistic and informational. In most instances, Hispanic women have not been educated about controversial public health issues such as unnecessary surgery, informed consent, patient's rights, and evaluation reports of dangerous drugs and substances published by the Federal Drug Administration. Other barriers which low-income Hispanic women face in their dealings with the health care system are related to their class position in society. In the United States, health care is not a right but depends on the ability to pay or proof of dire need. Central to Hispanic women's use of services are institutional, systemic barriers of access and the existence of public channels of care which are dehumanizing, discontinuous, and disease-oriented.

HISPANIC RESEARCH CENTER: RESEARCH BULLETIN

The HRC is directed by Dr. Lloyd H. Rogler, Albert Schweitzer Professor in Humanities at Fordham University.

The HRC operates under a research grant (1 R01 MH 30569-03) from the Minority Group Center of the National Institute of Mental Health. The **Research Bulletin** invites comments and news items from its readers. Let us know what topics you would like to see in future issues. Address correspondence to:

Stasia Madrigal, Editor, Hispanic Research Center, Fordham University, Thebaud Hall, Bronx, New York 10458
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The lack of information compounded by linguistic problems results in the Hispanic women's inability to articulate demands based on real need assessment, to create pressure for change in existing services, and to participate in decisions related to cancer, high blood pressure that may increase risk from medications such as the contraceptive pill; and the numerous at-risk conditions, social and biological, prevalent among low-income Hispanic women.

The interrelationships between data-collection systems and policy decision require not only the public presence of Hispanic women who are interested in and knowledgeable about the policy directions within the Hispanic community, but also a reassessment of the national health policy in the United States.

Hispanic Women's Conference

The Hispanic Research Center proposes to sponsor a conference in

October 1980 which will attempt to identify the needs of Hispanic women, document their problems, and develop ways to use this information for more in-depth investigations of the needs of Hispanic women. The conference will bring together researchers and practitioners to critically assess past and current research and programs for Hispanic women in major areas such as health, employment, the family, and special problems such as alcoholism.

The major emphasis of the conference will be on Puerto Rican women in the northeast region of the United States and Puerto Rico, since they represent a disadvantaged minority group which has been in the U.S. for two generations and because information on the special needs of this group is particularly scanty. However, in recognition of the distinct needs and differences existing within the larger Hispanic community, the conference will include presentations on other Hispanic women, such as Cubans and Dominicans.

The Hispanic Research Center sees this forum as a crucial step toward fostering links among researchers, practitioners, and policymakers, and as a way to shed light on key issues affecting Hispanic women.

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